

000 are somewhat quarrelsome, especially when they are under the influence of intoxicating drinks, but they are very hospitable and polite to strangers.

The creation of the mining and banana-raising industry has brought to the country an ever-increasing number of *North Americans* and *Europeans*. *Chinese* and *Syrians* are active as shopkeepers.

● 175 HISTORY.—Columbus discovered the country in 1502, during his fourth and last voyage to the New World, when he proceeded along the Atlantic coast of Central America from Trujillo in Honduras to Nombre de Dios in Panama. In the course of the following years several attempts were made by the Spaniards to take possession of the Mosquito Coast, but the natives resisted and were able to maintain their independence. The Spaniards were chiefly in quest of loot, and as the Indians gave them much trouble, and no gold was found in their country, they centered their energies upon the Pacific coast.

Later the English from Jamaica entered into friendly and commercial relations with the Miskito Indians, and gradually established a protectorate over the country. British traders arrived frequently on the coast, and later garrisons were introduced from Jamaica.

In 1786, by virtue of a treaty celebrated with Spain, Great Britain agreed to evacuate the country, and to recognize the sovereignty of the King of Spain over it. But the Spaniards were unable to maintain a foothold there, owing to the hostilities of the Indians worked up by a number of the English settlers who had refused to leave the coast.

Spanish power in America was already on the decline in those days and in 1821 the States of Central America declared their independence. Gradually the English authorities from Jamaica renewed their old friendly relations with the Miskito. The son of one of the principal chiefs was crowned solemnly at Belize (British Honduras) and the protectorate was reestablished.

The Mosquito Kingdom or Kingdom of Mosquitia was claimed in those days by the English to include the whole Atlantic coast of Central America from Chiriqui Lagoon (latitude 9° N.) to Cabo Honduras, that is a coast line of about 700 miles. The western limit was not well defined, but was said to be formed by the first Spanish settlements in the interior. The Corn Islands and the numerous smaller islands and keys, situated off the coast, were also under the jurisdiction of the Mosquito King. The larger islands, Providencia, Santa Catalina, and San Andreas, were administered, however, by the authorities of Nueva Granada (Colombia), although they belong geographically to the Mosquito Coast.

In 1847 the claims of the British were limited to the territory between Cabo Honduras and Rio San Juan, and over this region the King, or rather his British advisers, exercised jurisdiction until 1860. The boundaries between the Mosquito Coast and the Republic of

Honduras and Nicaragua had never been fixed; the two last named never recognized the existence of a Mosquito nation, but their effective jurisdiction did not extend to the east of an irregular line reaching from the eighty-third to the eighty-sixth degree west of Greenwich. 175

In those days the project of an interoceanic canal through the Isthmus of Nicaragua was occupying the principal maritime nations of Europe and the United States as well. The latter country had never viewed with favor the continual encroachments of Great Britain upon Central America. But when the English in 1848 took forceful possession of San Juan del Norte, the Atlantic terminus of the projected canal, the North American Republic openly took sides with Honduras and Nicaragua. Pressure from the United States forced England to sign in 1859 and 1860 treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua, by virtue of which the Mosquito Coast was recognized as part of the two Central American republics.

The part of the country situated between Rio Hueso on the north and Rio Punta Gorda on the south and extending inland to 84° 15' W., was, however, made into a reservation wherein the aborigines were to be allowed a certain autonomy. At the head of this reservation was the King, whose title was now changed to that of "Chief" (*Jefe*).

Most of the Indians, Miskito as well as Sumu, were not living within the boundaries of this newly created territory. The government of the latter was chiefly in the hands of native English-speaking "Creoles" or Jamaican immigrants. These were strongly opposed to Nicaraguan influence. The authorities of the reservation were constantly at odds with those of Managua, and the sovereignty of the Republic was only nominal. In 1881 some of the arising disputes were submitted for arbitration to the Emperor of Austria. Finally in 1894 Zelaya, President of Nicaragua, forcefully took possession of the Mosquito Reservation and ousted the local authorities; the country was then incorporated in the Republic as the *Departamento de Zelaya* (now *Departamento de Bluefields*).

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL EXPLORATION OF THE MOSQUITO COAST.—Columbus sailed along the Mosquito Coast from north to south in 1502, but he appears not to have come in contact with either Miskito or Sumu. Between the years 1513 and 1529 the versatile historiographer of the Indies, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557), spent some time on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua. His great work, which was not published completely until 1851-1855, deals, however, almost exclusively with the Nicaraos and Chorotegas as far as Nicaragua is concerned, and only a few vague statements refer to the "Chontales," a general designation under which the primitive tribes of the Atlantic coast were known in those days. Bensoni, Castañeda, Andagoya, García Palacios, and Motolinia all personally 175
114

175 visited Nicaragua or Honduras, but the rude Atlantic tribes were
114 entirely ignored by them, just as they were by the other celebrated
chroniclers, Gómara, Herrera, and Torquemada.

A few ethnographical details pertaining to the Indians of Rio Patuca (Sumu or Paya) have been left by the Franciscan missionary Espino, who remained in that region from May, 1667, until the beginning of 1668.

The author of the first famous work on the buccaneers, A. O. Exquemelin (name corrupted by the English into Esquemeling and by the French into Oexmelin), who came as an engagé to the West Indies in 1666, visited the Mosquito Coast in 1671 or 1672. He had joined the buccaneers in those days and among them appears to have performed the functions of barber-surgeon. In this capacity he accompanied Morgan on his famous raid on Panama in 1671. From the latter place his vessel sailed northward along the Atlantic shore of Central America, stopping at Bluefields Lagoon where the buccaneers were attacked by Sumu Indians. The vessel then stopped for some time at Cabo Gracias. Exquemelin's work was published in Dutch in Amsterdam in 1678. It was translated in German (1679), Spanish (1681), English (1684), and French (1686). Numerous editions have appeared since in many languages, and the book forms the basis of practically all the popular accounts of the seventeenth century buccaneer captains. The translations have appeared with serious additions, omissions, and alterations, each translator having been endeavoring to present his own country in the most advantageous light. The French translations especially contain additions of other French buccaneers not mentioned in the Dutch original, while the English editions glorify particularly the sack of Panama by Morgan. Exquemelin's work gives some very interesting accounts regarding the Miskito of Cabo Gracias a Dios.

The famous English navigator, William Dampier, who was born in 1652 as the son of a Somersetshire farmer, sailed to the West Indies in his youth. From 1675 to 1678 he was active as logwood cutter in Campeche and in 1680 he joined the buccaneers. In later years Dampier became very celebrated. On board a buccaneer vessel he visited Bluefields Lagoon and the Corn Islands, which enabled him to give us a few ethnographical details regarding the aborigines (Sumu) of those parts and the Miskito of Cabo Gracias a Dios. Dampier's great work, *A New Voyage Round the World*, which appeared in London in 1697, had a tremendous success and within a few years a great number of editions appeared in English, French, German, Dutch, and other languages.

The Parisian buccaneer, Ravenau de Lussan, a well-educated nobleman, who joined the buccaneers at Santo Domingo in 1684, is the author of a book (*Journal du Voyage, etc.*, Paris, 1689) on the exploits

conzernius]

THE MISKITO AND SUMU INDIANS

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of the French and English adventurers in the Pacific Ocean from March, 1685, to December, 1687. Being pursued by superior Spanish forces, these buccaneers abandoned their vessel in the Gulf of Fonseca and walked to the upper course of Rio Coco, down which they descended in rafts to the Miskito settlements around Cabo Gracias a Dios. 175
114

The great naturalist, Sir Hans Sloane, has also left us a few details pertaining to the Miskito whom he had met in Jamaica. On the arrival of each new governor of that island the Miskito King came over to Jamaica with a number of his men, as he had a commission from the governor. Sloane had thus occasion to meet these Indians in 1688 and again in 1725.

But the most detailed account of the aborigines of the Mosquito Coast, written in early days, is that of an Englishman, probably a former buccaneer, who signs merely "M. W." (The Mosquito Indian and His Golden River). He had an intimate knowledge of the Miskito and also gives some details pertaining to the Sumu.

Over 100 years passed until another careful observer has left us an account of the Indian tribes under consideration. Orlando W. Roberts was active as a trader on the eastern coast of Central America from the Gulf of Darien to the Bay of Honduras (1816-1823). He refers chiefly to the tribe of the Miskito.

During the years 1839 to 1842 Thomas Young was living around Rio Tinto. He was deputy superintendent of the British Central America Land Co., which was endeavoring to colonize that part of the Mosquito Coast. Young had an intimate knowledge of the various tribes of Indians as they really were in those days.

From June to August, 1844, a commission of three Germans (Messrs. Fellechner, Müller and Hesse) was looking over the coastal region of Honduras between Cabo Gracias a Dios and Rio Patuca in order to determine the advisability of establishing a German colony there.

Another German, Julius Fröbel, who was compelled to leave his native country as a result of the political events of 1848, spent some time in 1850 and 1851 around the great lake region of Nicaragua and on the upper Rio Escondido among the Ulwa Indians.

For much valuable information pertaining to the Miskito and Sumu we are indebted to three Englishmen who came to the country in the following years. The most important one among them is Charles Bell, who lived in the country during his youth, from 1846 to 1862, his father being attached to the government of the "Kingdom." He had a very intimate knowledge of that part of the country situated to the south of Rio Coco. Between 1863 and 1868 John Collinson, a civil engineer, made two voyages to the Mosquito Coast, being employed by Commander Pim to survey from Lake Nicaragua

175 to Punta Gorda for a proposed railway. The naturalist H. A. Wick-
114 ham lived in Nicaragua (Rio Escondido and Pearl Lagoon) from
October, 1867, to June, 1868, in order to collect birds. His ethno-
graphical notes pertaining to the Ulwa are of great interest.

A few years later the French mining engineer, Paul Lévy, traveled on the Mosquito Coast to carry on researches for the Government of Nicaragua. Among the minor contributors to the ethnology of the Mosquito Coast of the nineteenth century are the following: Bovallius, the Swedish zoologist (1881-1883); K. von Girsewald (1892), who spent six months in the gold regions of Pispis; Bruno Mierisch, the government engineer of Nicaragua, who explored the gold regions between Rio Coco and Rio Grande in 1892 and 1893.

In 1900 the celebrated German traveler, Dr. Karl Sapper, who is intimately acquainted with Central America, visited the Miskito and the Sumu living on and about Rio Coco. The ethnographical specimens collected by him are in the Stuttgart Museum. A collection of ethnographical and archeological material obtained by Doctor Neuhaus around Rio Escondido about this same period is in the Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin). The German linguist, Walter Lehmann, also investigated these tribes in the course of his voyage to Central America (1907-1909), but unfortunately the ethnographical part of his studies has not yet appeared. The Honduran school-teacher, Francisco Martínez, also collected interesting ethnological data during his stay at the Sumu village Guampit on Rio Patuca (1916-17). Unfortunately his various contributions have all appeared in local newspapers and reviews of very difficult access.

Finally mention must also be made of the work done by several Moravian missionaries, especially Heath, Grossmann, Reichel, Martin, Ziock, and Siebörger. The books by Schneider and Brindeau are based nearly exclusively upon the investigations of these missionaries.

Since the war the work has been continued by Americans. H. J. Spinden visited Rio Coco and the coast of Nicaragua in 1917-18, and the coast of Honduras in 1923. Dr. A. H. Schultz, of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, carried on some anthropological studies on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, examining 25 Rama and 12 Sumu Indians. During the same year (1924) D. E. Harrower, of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, was collecting ethnological specimens during two months among the Miskito, Sumu, and Rama.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE MISKITO

161 The Miskito are estimated at about 15,000, which number exceeds
144 that of all the other Indian tribes of the Mosquito Coast combined.
They are largely mixed with Negroes, for which reason the Spaniards have called them "Zambos," meaning Negro and Indian half-breed, a name which is appropriate.

411 used for fishing, consists merely of a shaft of wild cane into which a sharply pointed foreshaft of pejivalle wood, hardened in the fire, has been inserted and firmly tied as stated above. The latter is smoothed with the aid of a machete or large knife, which tools are used after the manner of a carpenter's plane. This kind of arrow is the largest one found on the Mosquito Coast, and it may reach 6 feet in length. Occasionally it is jagged on either side into more or less definite barbs. The arrow does not sink, owing to the feather-light shaft, which will always rise to the surface. On the Mosquito Coast the use of this arrow has also spread to some of the Creoles and Ladinos.

HUNTING ARROWS.—The hunting arrow (M.: *trieba*; S.: *sibak*) measures only 5 feet in length, as the shaft of wild cane is considerably shorter than in the one used for fishing. Unlike the latter, the hardwood foreshaft is not pointed, but a piece of iron or steel made from barrel hoops or other scrap iron is inserted in front. The latter is lanceolate in shape and has sharp edges. As the art of melting metal is unknown to these Indians, they make these arrow points with the aid of files. According to Exquemelin (Engl. edit.: 251), the Miskito in 1671 used iron points or alligator teeth to tip their arrows. Flint, obsidian, turtle shell, sharp fishbone, and shark teeth^a were also used for this purpose in former days. Barbed arrows and trident or composite arrow heads are now unknown.

BIRD ARROWS.—For birds and small animals the Indians make use of small arrows with blunt knobs of hardwood or beeswax, called *uru* by the Miskito and *ubo* or *ubur* by the Sumu. With these arrows they seldom kill, but merely stun the game, so that they can capture it alive. They are also used in the houses to scare away dogs, pigs, and fowls without being compelled to get up from the seat.

QUIVERS.—Quivers (M.: *trieba taya* "arrow skin") were apparently of ceremonial use only, and they were employed to carry the arrows during the festivals. They were made of red deerskin, as is indicated by their Sumu name (T.: *sana untak*; P.: *sana onitak*; U.: *sana okatak*). At the present time quivers have disappeared entirely, and the arrows are always carried in the hand by the hunter.

FIREARMS.—The buccaneers of the latter half of the seventeenth century apparently introduced firearms among the Miskito.^b In

171 ^a The Rama still employ shark teeth to tip their hunting arrows, and they claim that a wound caused with such an arm will almost invariably be fatal.

175 ^b It is possible that firearms were already introduced among the Miskito at an earlier period, during the years 1630 to 1641, when the two islands of Providencia and Santa Catalina, situated off the Mosquito Coast, and now belonging to Colombia, were colonized by English Puritans. The latter opened friendly and commercial relations with the Miskito, who were living chiefly around Cabo Gracias a Dios and Sandy Bay in those days. In 1633 a certain Capt. Sussex

recent times this arm has also spread to the Sumu. The Indians use muzzle-loading shotguns, called *raks* or *rakbus* by the Miskito and *arakbus* or *arakbas* by the Sumu. These names are evidently of European origin and are taken from the English "harquebus" or the French "arquebuse," or perhaps the Spanish "arcabuz." Powder is known by its English name (*pañitar*), but shot, which is generally kept in the small *pipis* bottle gourd (*Lagenaria lagenaria*), is spoken of by the Indians as the "eggs of the shotgun" (M.: *raks mabra*; S.: *arakbus suma*). Double-barreled guns (M.: *raks sutki*; S.: *arakbus sutki*, that is, "twin guns") are also occasionally met with. 41

THE CHASE

SKILL IN HUNTING.—Game is very abundant in this sparsely inhabited part of Central America. The Indian is an excellent hunter; the keenness of his senses is marvelous and nothing escapes his eyes. Every sound is noticed and understood, and the distance and the direction whence any noise proceeds is estimated with surprising accuracy. The Indian has a marvelous instinct which permits him to discover with great ease the footprints of animals and then determine the species to which they belong. He pursues the game through the thicket with the sagacity of the bloodhound. 224 151

A MALE OCCUPATION.—The wife never accompanies her husband on the actual hunt, where she would be in his way, for she does not learn to handle any arms. When a number of men organize a hunting party, expected to last more than a day, they may be accompanied by the members of their family. Arrived at a place said to be rich in game, they erect temporary sheds, wherefrom they undertake smaller expeditions in different directions. The hunters start out early in the morning, and before nightfall they rejoin the women and children, who have been left behind at the provisional ranch. The best time for hunting is in the morning before 9 o'clock and in the evening after 224

Camock, a member of that Puritan colony, appears to have founded a settlement at Cabo Gracias a Dios. Having gained the confidence of the Indians, the son of one of their most important chiefs was taken to England, where he remained two years, a certain Colonel Morris remaining as hostage among the Indians. Some of these Indians went occasionally to Providencia, where they learned English and were instructed in the Christian religion (Sloan, a: pp. LXXVI-LXXVII; Bridges: II, 138-139). In 1641 this Puritan colony, which by that time had found it more profitable to take up privateering than to pursue the peaceable occupation of farming, was stamped out by a Spanish expedition; the settlers then left for other regions, chiefly to the Bahama Islands. 175

According to Exquemelin (French edit.: II, 277), who wrote in 1678, the first buccaniers, a French vessel, anchored at Cabo Gracias a Dios 60 years previously—that is, about 1618—and entered into friendly relations with the Indians; the buccaniers would seem, therefore, to have been the first Europeans with whom the Miskito became friendly.

000 The ideal procedure would have been to have had a team composed of various specialists, medical, sociological and anthropological, working together in a cooperative way in a thorough study of the Miskito Indians.

124 It must be acknowledged that we were fortunate enough to find one physician who had established himself over a period of years in the area in question. This fact made the work much easier and obviated the use of time to form contacts with Indians. This made it possible to have the work continued with a reasonable assurance of success.

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122 Appreciation is expressed to Wyeth Incorporated, who generously supplied many of the drugs used in this survey and who defrayed many of the technical expenses of this study.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

● 175 The eastern coast of Honduras and Nicaragua was discovered by Columbus in 1502, during his fourth and last voyage to the New World, when he was proceeding from Trujillo in Honduras to Nombre de Dios in Panama. However, he did not come in direct contact with the Indians of this area.¹ In the course of the following years the Spaniards endeavored to take possession of this territory but the natives resisted most of the efforts of the colonizers. The Spaniards were chiefly in quest of loot but since gold was not found and the Indians gave them no end to trouble they centered their interests and energies upon the Pacific Coast.

Vague mention was made of the Atlantic seaboard Indians by Gon-

¹ Conzemius, E. Ethnographical Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua. Smithsonian Institution, Bull. 106, 1932.

114 *Vague mention was made of the Atlantic seaboard Indians by Gon-*
 175 *zalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557) who was residing temporarily*
 on the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua. A better account was given by the Franciscan missionary Espino² who had lived on the eastern coast during the year 1667-1668 (Río Patuca). It was during this period that the English entered into friendly and commercial relations with Indians; British traders arrived with increasing frequency and eventually garrisons were established. During this period there was also considerable trade with English buccaneers. The author of the first scholarly work on buccaneers, A. O. Exquemelin (English: Esquemeling; French: Oexmelin), came to the West Indies in 1666 and visited the Mosquito Coast of eastern Nicaragua in 1671. He had joined the buccaneers and had apparently assumed the function of harbor-surgeon. It was, at any rate, in this capacity that he accompanied Morgan on his famous raid on Panama in 1671.³ Exquemelin's original work in Dutch (Amsterdam, 1678), later translated into German (1679), Spanish (1681), English (1684), and French (1686), not only forms the basis for all of the popular accounts of the Seventeenth Century buccaneer captains but yields important descriptive information of the places he visited, especially the Mosquito Coast. Following Exquemelin, numerous other early historiographers have made accounts of the territory (vide: Dampier⁴ Raveneau de Lussan⁵ Sloane⁶).

175 In 1786 by virtue of a treaty with Spain, Great Britain agreed to yield the territory and to recognize the sovereignty of the King of Spain over it.⁷ Somehow the Spaniards were unable to maintain a foothold in this area, a situation presumably due to the persuasive power of the English over the Indians in encouraging hostility towards the new government. In 1821 the States of Central America declared their inde-

² Espino, Fray Fernando. *Relación Verdadera de la reducción de los Indios infieles de la provincia de Taguigalpa, llamados Xicaques, cuyos operarios han salido, y salen desta provincia del SS. Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala, desde 1612, hasta el presente año de 1674, Guatemala, 1674.*

³ Exquemelin, A. O. *De Americaenische Zee-Rovers*, Amsterdam, 1678; *Americaanische Seerauber*, Nurnberg, 1679; *Piratas de la América*, Köln, 1682; *Buccaniers of America*, London, 1683; *Histoire des Aventuriers qui se sont signalez dans les Indes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1686.

⁴ Dampier, William. *A New Voyage Round the World*. Fourth edition, 2 vols., London, 1699.

⁵ Raveneau de Lussan. *Journal du Voyage fait à la Mer du Sud, par les Filibustiers de l'Amérique en 1684 et années suivantes*. Paris, 1689.

⁶ Sloane, Sir Hans. *A voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, etc.* 2 vols. London, 1707-1725; *A New History of Jamaica from the earliest accounts, etc.* Second edition, London, 1740.

⁷ Stout, Peter F. *Nicaragua: Past, Present and Future*. Philadelphia, 1859.

The health and customs of the Miskito Indians

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pendence from Spain and the English authorities from Jamaica renewed their friendly relations with the Indians. In fact, one of the chiefs from the area was crowned with solemnity by the British at Belize, British Honduras, and made king, thus reestablishing a British protectorate system. The "Mosquito" (Miskito) Kingdom in those days included the whole Atlantic Coast of Central America from Chiriqui Lagoon (latitude 9° N.) to Cabo Honduras, a coastline of 700 miles.⁷ However, in 1847 the territory became restricted to the territory between Cabo Honduras and Río San Juan, the jurisdiction of which was under British colonials. During these years under British supervision Orland W. Roberts,⁸ an active trader on the eastern coast of Nicaragua, gave an accurate account of Miskito Indian customs. Reports were also given by Young,⁹ Fröebel,¹⁰ the most important being the text by Bell,¹¹ who lived in the territory from 1846 to 1862. From 1863 to 1868 John Collinson, a civil engineer, made two voyages to this coast and left an account of his travels.¹² H. A. Wickham,¹³ (1867-1868) made a collection of birds from Río Escondido and Pearl Lagoon; P. Levy made researches for the Nicaraguan government¹⁴ and other studies were made by the Swedish zoologist Bovallius,¹⁵ and by K. Von Girsewald,¹⁶ B. Mierisch,¹⁷ and K. Sapper, who obtained a series of ethnographical specimens for the Stuttgart Museum.¹⁸

Inasmuch as there is a considerable admixture of Negro with the Miskito Indians it may be well to examine the possible reason for this

⁷ Roberts, Orland W. *Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and in the Interior of Central America*. Edinburgh, 1827.

⁸ Young, Thomas. *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore, During the Years 1839, 1840 and 1841*. London, 1895.

⁹ Fröebel, Julius. *Aus Amerika. Erfahrungen, Reisen und Studien*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1857-1858.

¹¹ Bell, Charles Napier. *Remarks on the Mosquito Territory; its Climate, People, Productions, etc.* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1862, 32, 242-268. London.

¹² Collinson, John. *The Indians of the Mosquito Territory*. *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*. 1870, 3, 148-156. London.

¹³ Wickham, H. A. *Notes of a Journey among the Woolwa and Moskitu Indians*. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*. 1869, 13, 58-63. London.

¹⁴ Levy, Paul. *Notas geográficas y económicas sobre la República de Nicaragua*. Paris, 1873.

¹⁵ Bovallius, Carl. *Resist Central-Amerika (1881-1883)*. Upsala, 1887.

¹⁶ Girsewald, K. Von. *Sechs Monate in Nicaragua*. Braunschweig, 1896.

¹⁷ Mierisch, B. *Eine Reise nach den Goldgebieten in Osten von Nicaragua*. *Petersmanns Mitteilungen*. 1893, 39, 25-39. Gotha.

¹⁸ Sapper, K. *Reise auf dem Río Coco (Nordliches Nicaragua)*. *Globus*. 1900, 78, 249-252, 271-276. Braunschweig; *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*, 1917, 206-210.

[144] In 1875 at the time when the relationship of Miskito and Sumu languages was still unknown, Zúñiga Echenique¹⁹ considered the Miskito Indians as the offspring of fugitive slaves with *Twahka* women (see appendix A). Of the existing Sumu tribes today the *Bawihka* is the [147] one which linguistically and ethnologically is the closest to Miskito. The *Bawihka* formerly occupied the area of the coastline where the first Europeans made contact. The fact that Echenique had suggested that the Miskito were derived from slaves and Indians and the fact that the *Bawihka* were on the coast induced Conzemius¹ to deduce that intermarriage between Negroes and Indians, an ordinary occurrence today, was a possibility in earlier times.

In 1641 a slave ship was wrecked off Cabo Gracias a Dios. The Africans were on a ship commanded by Lourenço Gramalho.²⁰ While on the high seas the Negroes revolted and mastered the ship and not knowing navigation allowed the vessel to be carried by trade winds, where it became wrecked on the Mosquito keys. The Negroes reached the mainland and were made slaves by the Indians. However, they were allowed to inter-marry and their children became free members of the tribe. There appears to be some controversy as to the owner of the vessel and the year it foundered.²¹ 7 22

As a result the Miskito from Cabo Gracias a Dios to Sandy Bay developed an admixture of African blood. This Mixture was enhanced by the coming of other refugee slaves and the more recent immigrations of Negroes and mulattoes from the West Indies. The extent to which [147] the Indian language was influenced by the African newcomers is unknown; the vowel scale of many people in certain villages is the same as the Jamaican creole dialect.²² 7 24

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In recent times important contributions with regard to the Miskito

¹⁹ Zúñiga Echenique, Melquisidec. Descripción geográfica del departamento de la Mosquitia, practicada en el año de 1875. Madrid, 1905.

²⁰ Vide: Peralta, M. M. Costa Rica y la Costa de Mosquitos. Madrid-Paris, 1898; footnote N° 3; Edwards, B. The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies, 5 vols. London, 1819. Heath, G. R., quoted by Conzemius (footnote 1), loc. cit. p. 17.

²¹ De Kalk, Courtenay, Nicaragua: Studies on the Mosquito Shore in 1892. Jour. Amer. Geographical Soc. of New York. 1893, 25, 236-288. versus opinion expressed by Peralta (footnote 20).

²² Lehmann, W. Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise in Mittelamerika und Mexico. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1910, 42, 687-749.

²³ Conzemius, E. Notes on the Miskito and Sumu Languages of Eastern Nicaragua and Honduras. Internat. Jour. Amer. Linguistics, 1929, 5, 57-115.

²⁴ Heath, G. R. Notes on Miskito Grammar and on other Indian languages of Eastern Nicaragua. Amer. Anthropologist, 1913, 15, 48-62.